

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

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S E C R E T NAIROBI 2621

EXDIS TREAT AS NODIS

FOR TARNOFF AND MOOSE FROM HARROP

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, ET, SO, UR

SUBJ: DRAFT EVENING READING FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT - THE HORN

1. DAVID AARON AND BILL HARROP, DICK MOOSE'S DEPUTY, FOLLOWED UP THEIR TWO AND A HALF HOURS WITH MENGISTU IN ADDIS YESTERDAY BY A LONG MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER FELEKE TODAY. THE ETHIOPIANS SEEM STRONGLY MOTIVATED TO MAINTAIN THEIR TIES WITH US, ALTHOUGH THE DEPTH OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IS OBVIOUS. AARON AND HARROP FELT THEY MADE SOME PROGRESS IN DISPELLING ETHIOPIAN SUSPICIONS THAT WE SUPPORT SOMALIA BOTH POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY AND THAT WE ARE INCORRIGIBLY HOSTILE TO THEIR REVOLUTION.

2. FELEKE SAID WE WOULD HAVE AGREEMENT FOR OUR AMBASSADOR NEXT WEEK. I HOPE TO GET HIM THERE IN A FEW WEEKS.

3. MENGISTU COMMITTED HIMSELF PERSONALLY TO YOU THAT ETHIOPIAN FORCES WOULD NOT CROSS THE SOMALI BORDER AND THAT ETHIOPIANS WOULD NOT INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THEIR NEIGHBORS. IN REPLY TO AARON'S FORCEFUL STATEMENT OF  
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OUR CONCERN AT THE DESTABILIZING EFFECT OF MASSIVE SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE AND PARTICULARLY THE CUBAN COMBAT FORCES, MENGISTU HINTED THAT THESE WOULD NOT REMAIN AFTER THE OGADEN IS RESOLVED; HOWEVER, HE STOPPED WELL SHORT OF A CLEAR COMMITMENT. HE AFFIRMED, AS DID FELEKE, ETHIOPIA'S DETERMINATION TO BE TRULY NON-ALIGNED.

4. WITHDRAWAL OF SOMALI FORCES APPEARS TO BE ABSOLUTE SINE QUA NON OF ETHIOPIAN POSITION. WE BELIEVE THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY THAT MENGISTU MIGHT NEGOTIATE IN RETURN FOR COMMITMENT OF SOMALI WITHDRAWAL, BUT HE SENSES HIS COMINANT MILITARY POSITION; THE LEADERS OF THIS REVOLUTION ARE STRIKINGLY SENSITIVE AND PROUD ABOUT THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. MENGISTU WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO MAKE COMMITMENTS REGARDING THE NATURE OF FUTURE AUTONOMY FOR THE OGADEN AND HE WOULD PROBABLY NOT ACCEPT INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. FELEKE SCOFFED AT THE VERY THOUGHT OF REPRISALS AGAINST THE OGADENI POPULATION, CLAIMING THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO POSSIBILITY OF VINDICTIVE ACTION. OF COURSE SIAD BARRE WON'T BELIEVE THAT AND WILL RESIST WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT GUARANTEED.

5. FELEKE IDENTIFIED THE SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES (DIRG MEMBER BERHANU BAYEH AND FOREIGN OFFICE SECRETARY GENERAL SAWAT) WHO WERE PREPARED TO LEAVE IMMEDIATELY FOR LAGOS FOR MEDIATION TALKS UNDER NIGERIAN AUSPICES. HE CLAIMED THEIR DEPARTURE HAD BEEN DELAYED BY GARBA'S ATTENDANCE AT TRIPOLI OAW MEETING BUT SAID THEY WOULD DEPART WHENEVER NIGERIANS CALLED FOR THEM. THEY DID NOT KNOW WHETHER A SOMALI TEAM WAS EXPECTED IN LAGOS.

6. FELEKE, OBVIOUSLY REPRESENTING MENGISTU'S POSITION, ARGUED STRONGLY AGAINST SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE OGADEN. THE EITHIOPAINS DO NOT SEEM TO APPRECIATE HOW  
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MUCH SYMPATHY THEY WOULD FIND IN THE UN. THEY FEAR THAT SECURITY COUNCIL DISCUSSION WOULD LEAD TO A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE OR "CONSIDERATION OF VARIOUS COMPLICATIONS" SERVING ONLY TO DELAY THE SOMALI WITHDRAWAL THEY DEMAND. THE ETHIOPIANS ARE SUSPICIOUS OF OUR ROLE IN SEEKING ASECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, DESPITE AARON'S REPEATED ASSURANCE THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT A CEASEFIRE ONLY IF LINKED TO WITHDRAWAL.

7. AARON AND HARROP DISCUSSED OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS FULLY AND FRANKLY. THEY WARNED THAT, DESPITE OUR SYMPATHY FOR THE GOALS OF THE REVOLUTION, THE BLOODSHED AND VIOLENCE WHICH ACCOMPANY IT ARE REPUGNANT TO YOUR ADMINISTRATION, TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CONGRESS AND WOULD INEVITABLY TROUBLE OUR RELATIONSHIP. FELEKE AND DAWAT SAID THAT ETHIOPIA'S LEADERS DEPLORED THE VIOLENCE AS MUCH AS WE DID AND HOPED IT WOULD END SOON. HOWEVER, THE REVOLUTION WAS "EXTREMELY COMPLICATED" AND ENTAILED STERN MEASURES. THE EXCHANGE REGARD-  
ING HUMAN RIGHTS WAS CANDID AND FORTHRIGHT.

8. SURPRISINGLY ENOUGH, THE DIFFICULT ISSUE ABOUT SHIPMENT OF ETHIOPIAN MILITARY SPARES TURNED OUT RATHER WELL. THE ETHIOPIANS HAD ASSUMED WE WOULD ALLOW NONE OF THE SHIPMENT

TO PROCEED; WHEN AARON TOLD THEM THAT THE VEHICLES AND VEHICLE SPARES WOULD SOON LEAVE, THEY WERE RELIEVED. THEY WISH TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF SELLING THE LETHAL EQUIPMENT IN ORDER TO PURCHASE NON-LETHAL REPLACEMENTS.

9. AARON AND HARROP TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION TO STRIDENT ETHIOPIAN ATTACKS UPON THE US AND PARTICULARLY THE REPEATED ALLEGATIONS AGAINST YOU PERSONALLY. THE ETHIOPAINS COMPLAINED IN TURN ABOUT STATE DEPARTMENT AND ANDY YOUNG'S STATEMENT, BUT THEY SEEMED TO GET OUR POINT.

10. IN SUM, YOUR IDEA OF SENDING A SPECIAL EMMISARY WORKED OUT WELL. WE STILL HAVE MORE HARD GROUND TO COVER, THE SOVIET POSITION REMAINS VERY STRONG, AND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WILL  
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NOT BE EASY TO OBTAIN. FURTHERMORE, THE OGADEN CRISIS IS INCREASINGLY DEVISIVE, AS BETWEEN KENYA AND IRAN AND BOTH ETHIOPIA AND KENYA AND EGYPT. HOWEVER, OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS NOW SEEM ON IMPROVED FOOTING AND WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS BETTER. WE WERE ABLE TO OPEN A DIALOGUE.

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